1: Karsten--96 [2] (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 352, 513 (1928-29)

"The benches, which at the same time serve the Jibaro Indians as sleeping places at night, are extremely simple and uncomfortable. The length is about one metre and a half, but twenty to thirty centimetres away from the rack is a cross-pole (pataki) on which the sleeping Indian leans his ankles. The bench has a slight downward slant, the upper edge of it being about thirty or forty, the lower end about twenty or twenty-five centimetres above the ground. The sleeping Indian may have a thin deer's skin under him, but frequently even this is lacking, nor has he any cover. Since however the nights are often chilly, a fire is kept burning all night under the cross-pole supporting the legs, so that the sleeper may keep his extremities warm (Pl. XXIV, 3). --Hammocks are not used by any Jibaro tribes.

There are very few other things in a Jibaro house which may pass as 'furniture'. Almost the only things which deserve this name are smaller benches of split bamboo (kutanga) and low round stools (chimbui) used by the men."

1: Karsten--245 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
513 (1928-29)

"Considering that they get up so early in the morning they finish their day comparatively late. Generally it is not until about 9 o'clock that complete silence reigns in the house. Compared with white people the Indians seem to need very little sleep."

2: Stirling--90 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
513

"The small children sleep with the women, boys moving to the men's end of the house when about 7 years of age."

The beds are placed along the wall, the head backed up against it and the feet turned toward the center of the dwelling. The women's beds are found near their own door, the men's on each side of the opposite door, but a little nearer the short axis of the ellipse, always because of the fear of an attack. Each bed is made of a wooden frame, lifted 30 or 40 cm. from the ground by four legs, across which bamboo stalks split lengthwise are laid close together (fig. 12). This frame measures about 1^{m} 60 wide and 1^{m} 20 long. The result is that when the Indian lies down on it, his legs are completely off the bed. Therefore, about 25 or 30 cm. from the foot of the little bed, there is a horizontal bar, or patachi, placed on two little forked sticks, upon which they place their feet. Immediately in front of this bar, a fire is kept continually burning in order to warm the legs of the sleeper, and also, according to Reiss, to [587] keep away the mosquitoes with its smoke (1). Doubtless both reasons are good, for the mosquitoes are plentiful and the savage sleeps without cloth or covering.

The beds of the women are a little different. They are longer and do not have the patachi. In addition they have two lateral partitions of bamboo and at the foot a little curtain of some kind of material which protects them from being seen. In some houses, the individual curtains are replaced by a wall of bamboo about 2 meters high which runs in front of all the women's beds so that one can pass from one to the other without being seen from the interior of the room.

1. Reiss, op. cit., page 331.

18: Hermeosen--442 [2] (No date) 1917 Jivaro
116, 352, 513

"The only noticeable difference between the two ends of the house consisted in the sleeping arrangements, which, in the case of the men, were simply low tables or platforms of split bamboo, (19) with a superimposed skeleton frame; while the women had covered booths or cubicles. When the regular accommodation of this kind was inadequate to the occasion, men, women, and children reposed in groups, sexes apart, on mats of cane or rush laid on the earth floor. Immediately before each one of these sleeping places a fire was kept burning all the time, day and night. In front of each platform, and at the same height, there was a heavy pole, fixed horizontally in two forked sticks, serving as a rest for the protruding feet of the sleepers, who seemed to delight in toasting them over the glowing embers, indifferent to the flames and sparks that leapt from a fresh blaze."

"19. Whiffen, op. cit., p. 47, reports that the Apaporis Indians make shelves or platforms on which they sleep."

25: Vigna--41 [5] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 354, 513, 372, 415

The fire is always kept lit. At night it burns at the foot of the sleeper and keeps him warm, so that the Jíbaro has no need of sheets or blankets. In illness, in order to conserve heat, they use a piece of cloth that serves as loin cloth. They do not have a kitchen; the fire that burns at the foot of the bed serves for hearth and here, they prepare their food. Hollow calabashes are used for water. When they go on a journey, they take along a burning firebrand. [42]

28: Tessman--349-350 (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 352, 513

The bed (pĺaka) of the Chiwaros is a plank bed on four legs, as shown on Plate 60, Fig. 4. The beds are placed with their longitudinal sides along the wall. A bed consists of pieces of Iriartea-wood that are placed cross-wise. The bed has a long but narrow surface. The side toward the wall (where the sleepers have their heads) is raised considerably so that the bed slopes down to the front. [350] In front of the bed are two forked posts. One prong of the fork is higher than the other. When they go to bed, the Chiwaros place the head toward the wall and the feet over the crossbeam that connects the two forked posts. The edge of the bed is under the knees. Cf. cartogram no. 9. Between the foot-support and the bed there are small fires burning which keep their legs warm. Young unmarried people have special beds which are covered with a plaited mat. Sucking infants sleep in a hammock (tangáma) made of Ficus fiber. Occasionally they are attached to one of the prongs of the foot rest uprights and extended to the prong of another such upright.

14:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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KEY TO FIGURE 1

A Doorway at women's end of the house
- A_1 Removable door posts in upright position
- A_2 Crossbar holding door posts in place

B Chicken nest formed by a wedge of two palm slats against the base of the house wall

C Older wife's palm-slat bed, with crossbar footrest and three fire logs

D Married daughter's (and son-in-law's) bed

E Ordinary rectangular stool (*kuasa*), placed for use by a male visitor

F Doorway at men's end of the house
- F_1 Removable door post (left upright in the door)
- F_2 Removable door posts laid on the floor for use as visitors' benches

G House owner's bed, for his daytime napping and for use by overnight visitors

H House owner's round stool (*tsimpui*)

I Palm-slat platforms built above the reach of small children for the storage of large pottery vessels

J Younger wife's bed

K Younger wife's baby's hammock, made of a piece of cloth suspended between two poles

L Ordinary rectangular stool placed for use by the younger wife in cooking and making manioc beer

M Split guadua bamboo platform suspended between house-posts to support food and beer bowls. Underneath are the large beer-brewing jars of both wives.

14 Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

be unprotected from rain and possible attackers, a large floor area is essential. A large house also makes it possible for neighboring relatives to congregate in the dwelling to make a combined stand against an expected enemy attack. Space needs are, in addition, particularly great when a *tsantsa* feast is given, since large numbers of guests dance and sleep within the house on such occasions. Under such circumstances, extra beds are built to line the walls.

The Jivaro divide the house conceptually and functionally into two halves: the men's end (*tayamaiz*), and the women's (*ekeamu*). The men's half serves as a parlor and sleeping place for visitors. A couple of stools and a log door post or two serving as a bench are usually found in this end for the host and his visitors (Figure 1, H, E, F_1). The house owner's personal palm or bamboo slat bed is also located in the men's end (Figure 1, G) and, when there are visitors, is slept on by those male guests unaccompanied by wives. Sometimes, if there is not enough bed space, visitors will sleep on banana leaves spread on the dirt floor in the men's end of the house.

When there are no guests, the house owner uses the bed for his daytime napping, and for nighttime sleeping alone when his wife is menstruating or angry with him. Otherwise he sleeps with his wife on her bed in the women's half of the house. If he has more than one wife, there is a bed for each (Figure 1, J, C). Often an extra bed or two is also installed on the women's side for married couples who are visiting, or for a daughter and her husband during the period of temporary matrilocal residence within the house (Figure 1, D). Such beds are also utilized by children who no longer sleep on their mother's bed. Split bamboo (*Guadua* sp.) shelves are suspended in the women's end between the center posts (Figure 1, M) and palm slat or split bamboo shelves (Figure 1, I) along the walls. These are used to store pottery and baskets of pea-

34 Harner, E - 4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

353 [202] nuts above the reach of small children. Occasionally a large wooden signal drum may be found leaning against a wall post. There are no other important permanent furnishings.

356 [412] The spaciousness of the house is matched by its neatness and cleanliness. The women sweep both inside and outside daily with a short broom made by lashing together branches of the *hapiuuk* plant. The sweepings are put on a banana leaf and carried away in an old basket to be dumped in the forest.

354 513 Smoldering fires are maintained at the foot of all beds both in the men's and women's ends to heat the sleepers' feet especially during the nights, which are often chilly, depending upon the altitude and the weather. Those at the women's beds are also the household cooking fires (see Plate 10). All household fires are made by laying three thick palm logs so that their ends meet like the spokes of a wheel. Normally, the log ends smolder slowly, but when a pot is set upon their juncture the logs soon burst into flame. With such an arrangement, fire lighting and kindling is rarely necessary. At night, additional light is provided by burning a small torch or two of copal.

Subsistence

24 [351] [146] Each household has either a single large garden or several smaller ones. In the latter case, the house itself is usually located in the largest. Such gardens constitute almost the exclusive source of carbohydrates for the Jívaro, providing, in terms of calories, perhaps about 65 per cent of the diet. The cultivation of slowly maturing tuberous plants, especially sweet manioc (*Manihot utilissima*), which can be harvested over long periods of time, the absence of a distinct dry

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

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10. Man (left) and wife sleeping in a new house, in which the walls are still under construction (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

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11. Hunting dogs tied to beds to sound the alarm in case would-be assassins attempt to approach sleeping members of the household in the night (Río Cusuimi, 1956–57).

/p. 90-H/